

# CONSIDERATIONS

UPON A

Printed Sheet

ENTITLED THE

# SPEECH

Of the LATE

## Lord Ruffel

TO THE

# SHERIFFS:

TOGETHER,

With the *PAPER* delivered by  
Him to Them, at the Place of Execution, on *July*  
21. 1683.

*By Sir Roger L'Estrange*

L O N D O N,

Printed by *T. B.* for *Joanna Brome*  
at the *Gun* in *St. Paul's Church-yard.*  
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COLLEGE OF THE HOLY TRINITY

1901

THE COLLEGE OF THE HOLY TRINITY  
WAS FOUNDED IN 1863

BY THE REV. FATHERS OF THE  
SACRED HEART

AND THE BISHOP OF  
PHOENIX

THE COLLEGE OF THE HOLY TRINITY  
IS A BOARDING SCHOOL

FOR BOYS AND GIRLS  
OF ALL AGES

AND OF ALL RACES  
AND RELIGIONS

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## To the R E A D E R.

**I**T is better to Obey God, then Man] *says the Text.*  
 [It is better to Obey the Devil then God] *says*  
*the Comment.* And are not those People now in a  
 Happy State, d'ye think, that know not One Step of  
 the Way to Heaven Themselves ; and have such Interpre-  
 ters for their Guides ? **This** is the **True Form** of God-  
 lineſs that Denies the **Power** of it ; And **This** the Prin-  
 ciple, that, wherever it takes Root, loosens the Foundati-  
 ons of Civil Government, and Obedience ; And makes  
 way for the Erecting of a Kingdom of Darkneſs upon  
 Thoſe Ruines. There's a Great Deal in That ſame Old  
 Adage ; [ Where God has his Church, The Devil has  
 his Chappel ; ] for Religion is as well the Pretence of the  
 Worſt of Men, as it is the Duty, and Buſineſs of the  
 Beſt. Where Satan cannot prevail for Idolatry, he'l con-  
 tent himſelf with Hereſy, and Schiſm ; And with the daſh-  
 ing of One Altar againſt Another. Where he cannot O-  
 verthrow the very Ground of our Faith, he'l Compound for  
 Liberty of Conſcience ; And ſome Plauſible ways of Diſ-  
 guiſing it. Next to the ſetting up of a Falſe **God**, is the  
 Begetting a **falſe** Opinion of the **True** One ; Which is  
 almoſt an Equivalent ; Onely the One's a Material ; And  
 the Other's a Notional Idol : The One's the work of our  
**Hands** ; And the Other of our **Imagination**. At this  
 rate, it is, that we Confound Realities, and Appearan-  
 ces ; Fancy, and Conſcience.

*This may look perhaps as if I were quite Running away,  
 both from my Reader, and from my Buſineſs : But I am,  
 in truth, upon the very Point of my Subject. What was  
 it that Ruin'd that Unhappy Lord, (Whoſe Caſe is the Ar-  
 gument of this Paper ; And whoſe Unhappy Fate, I Lament  
 from my Soul) but the being Bigotted into This Principi-*

## To the Reader.

*I fear not I shall be able to  
can sell the work*  
96  
ple? *And what Kingdom, or Government, where it Ob-  
tains, is able to stand against it? If Lucifer himself were  
let Loose, he would Preach upon That Scripture of Mat.*  
10. 28. *And Pervert the Text. This Doctrine of Re-  
sistance in case of Religion, is the Source of all our Feares,  
and Jealousies, Seditions and Conspiracies; Men that are  
Drunk, will Sleep themselves Sober again. We have  
Bedlams for Lunaticks. Gibbets, Pillories, Whipping-  
Posts, and Jayles for Common Criminals: But there's  
No Discipline, No Cure for Enthusiasts. Is Religion  
at Stake? Bring in [a Bill against the Duke of York to  
disable him from Inheriting the Imperial Crown.] Is  
Popery the Question? Come to a Resolution Immediately,  
[That if his Majesty shall come by any Violent Death,  
(No matter who kills him) it shall be Reveng'd upon the  
Papists.] Is there a Popish Plott? 'Tis but the Bricolage  
of a True Protestant Association, that upon the False  
Bound shall Play upon the Government. And then we  
are to Consider again, that This Proposition is not only  
an Incentive to a Rebellion, and a Justification of it;  
but it makes the Concealment of the Conspirators as  
much a Point of Conscience, as the Treason it self. And  
how Ridiculous then is the Pretence of Defending that by  
Force, which no Force can reach? I never heard of any  
mans Religion yet that was taken away upon the Pad.*

*Upon This Maxim is Grounded all that is Mischievous,  
or Dangerous, in the Subject of These Considerations;  
And I have done what I thought my Duty to Do in the  
Exposing of it. These Papers had come out sooner, but  
that I was Trick'd into a Delay: But Julian is in the bot-  
tom on't; And I'll forgive any man that stands up for  
his Author.*



CONSIDERATIONS  
UPON A  
Printed Sheet,  
ENTITLED THE  
SPEECH  
Of the LATE  
Lord Ruffel  
To the SHERIFFS, &c.

**I** Have not set Pen to Paper upon this Subject, without first consulting all the Points of Decency and Duty, which I thought might properly fall within the Limits of this Discourse: As the Honour of a Noble Family; the Quality and Misfortune of an Eminent Person, together with matter of common Respect to *Truth, Justice, Christian Charity, Candor, and Good Manners*: Having no other end  
in

in these considerations, then to do a *Fair and Necessary Right* to the *Government*, within *that Compass*; I call it a *Right* to the *Government*, because there is not *one sound Part* in the whole *Body* of it, from *Head* to *Foot*; if this *Paper* may be *Credited*: And as the *business* has been *Managed* and *Improved*, [*The Cry of Innocent Blood against Oppression and Injustice*,] would have been a *Title* much more *Suitable* to the *Air* and *Drift* of it, then that which it now bears. It carries the *Face* indeed of the *Testimony* of a *Dying Man*: But yet if a *Body* considers either the *Style*, the *Scope*, the *Declarative*, or the *Confessing Part* of it, there's nothing less in't: Not so much as *one Period*, without a *Starting-hole*, where there lyes any *strefs* upon the *Truth*, either of the *Intention*, or of the *Fact* in *Question*: Now for this *Vein* to run quite *through* it in a *Constant Course* of *Reserve*, *Mystery* and *Disguise*, there needs no more to *Prove*, that it was *Designed* for an *Amusement*: for *Methods* never come by *Chance*; so that the *Artifice* is not wholly to be *Neglected*; and yet I shall not lay more *weight* upon't than the *Thing* will bear.

The *Two Points* in *Consideration* are the *Speech* and the *Paper*. Now some will have it, that though the *Speech* was certainly my *Lord Russels*, there may be some doubt yet concerning the *Paper* that went along with it. And this *Conjecture*

sture they ground upon the *Ambiguities* that Oc-  
 cur, both in the Title, and in the Speech it Self,  
 which they Reason upon, after this manner. The  
 Title, they say, tells us barely of the *Delivery*  
 of it by my Lord Russell: And then in the *Speech*,  
 there is not One Syllable more, concerning the Pa-  
 per so Deliver'd than These Numerical Words [ Mr.  
 Sheriff, I have set down in This Paper all that I think fit  
 to leave behind me. ] My Lord does not first Read  
 This Paper to the Sheriff, and then Own it. My  
 Lord does not say [ Mr. Sheriff, The Contents of This  
 Paper are True, in the whole, and in every part of it, So  
 Help me God. ] My Lord does not say, [ Mr. She-  
 riff, I do here deliver this Paper to you upon my Death,  
 as the Truth, and the Full Truth of my Case. ] But my  
 Lord says, [ I have Set down in This Paper. ] which  
 Setting down imports no more than the simple  
 writing of it : And so goes forward [ All that I  
 Think fit to leave behind me ] which might have  
 been as well said, in this Case, if the Paper had  
 been an Act of Parliament, instead of the Testimony  
 of a Dying Man. And what's the meaning again of  
 [ All that I think fit ] in This Place ? These Words  
 by a Scotch Figure, may signifie, as the Reader  
 pleases ; either Any Thing, or just Nothing at All ;  
 But however at a venture, a Man may conclude  
 that there is something More yet, which he does  
 Not think fit to set down ; And That, for ought any  
 Body.

Body knows, may be *All* that is ~~worth~~ *setting down*;  
 Or (which is the same thing) *All* that the Reader  
 will find ~~missing~~ *in This Paper*. And then, why  
 [~~Leave behind me?~~] (they say) unless in the *Literal*  
*Sense*, That I do not Carry it ~~with me~~ ; for there's no  
*Attestation*, Annex'd to't; No Solemnity of *Acknow-*  
*ledgment* or *Protestation* to Accompany the Delivery  
 of it; no *Circumstance* to make it a *Memorial* of a-  
 ny thing more than the Transferring of the Pa-  
 per out of *One* hand into *Another*; inlomuch, that  
 the matter lies at *Fast* or *Loose*, whether *this Pa-*  
*per* shall be *Reputed my Lords Act* or no.

My Answer is, that this Paper was ~~written~~  
 by my Lord, ~~Subscribed~~ by my Lord ~~Deliber-~~  
~~ed~~ by my Lord; and that by these *Visible Solem-*  
*nities* it became *My Lords Act*.

It was Manifestly *My Lords Intention* that it  
 should be ~~Taken~~ for *His Act*; And it is but *Com-*  
*mon Justice* to allow and to understand it so to be. It  
 has been likewise *Published* and *made use of* by  
 some of my Lords nearest *Re:ations*, ~~As my Lords~~  
~~Act~~, and with *Infinite Zeal* for his Lordships *Ad-*  
*vantage* and *Beboof*. Now after all these *Authorita-*  
*tive* and *Punctnal Formalities* of Proceeding, there  
 is not any Man that has a *Tenderness* for the *Me-*  
*mory* of *That Unhappy Person*, but would rather  
*Entitle* him to this Paper, (how ill contriv'd soever)  
 than charge him, on the other hand, with *double-*  
*dealing*

dealing and mental Reservations at his Last Hour ; As if his dying Thoughts had been only taken up with Studying how to lead People into the dark ; and to amuse the World with a Riddle, never to be unfolded, after the Closing of his Lordships Eyes, till the Day of Judgment ; But let every Man take it which way he pleases, it comes, in my Opinion, to the same Issue at last ; That is to say, Take the Speech and the Paper, Together ; or take them apart, 'tis much at one.

[God knows (says the Speech) how far I was always from Designs against the Kings Person, or of Altering the Government.]

This Passage now according to the sincerity of Popular Usage and Construction is as much as to say, [God knows it, I was ever against these ways ;] but then if a Man looks at it through a pair of Reformation-Spectacles, 'tis a meer *deceptio visus* ; and there is nothing at all to be seen ; for a body may be up to the Ears in a Design, and yet Cry out with a safe Conscience [God knows how far I am against it.] But there follows another Clause that seems to come closer a great deal, *i. e.*

[In the Words of a Dying Man, I Profess I know of no Plot, either against the Kings Life, or the Government.]

These Words, in plain, honest English ought to pass for Current, and as good as Sterling betwixt

B

Man

Man and Man; but he that reads them with a *Kirk Comment*, will put them to All *Touches* and *Tests*, if he be wise, before he *Receives* them. [I *Never knew of any Plot*] would have been much *Fuller* and much *Homer* to the *Indictment*, than [I *know of no Plot;*] For the neck of it is now broken; and it is no longer in *Being*. And then in the *Restraining* of that *Disclaimer*, to the *Kings Life*, or the *Government*; There's a *Salvo* left yet for the *Seizing of the Guards*, and for the *Imprisoning, Deposing*, or doing any *other Indignity* to the *King*, short of his *Life*. And *All This* without any *Change* of *Government* too; for the *Monarchy* is the *Same* still, though the *Crown* perhaps may be *Translated* from *One Head* to *Another*. Thus we see, Every *Line's a Snare*: But I can never believe, that my Lord spake *These Words* with the *Intention* of him that *Penn'd* them, but rather that *Unhappily* he took the *Paper* by *Content*, and without much *Examining*, either the *Stamp*, or the *Mettle* pay'd it out again as he *Receiv'd* it. In *One word*, *Somebody else* *Prepar'd* the *Poyson*, Put it into my *Lords hand* for a *Cordial*, and his *Lordship* *Deliver'd* it over to the *People*: Not but that upon the main of my *Lords Tryal*, *Sentence* and *Execution*, as the *Strictness* of the *Method* was *Absolutely Necessary*, so the *Process* was managed with all possible *Respect* and *Justice*.

We



We come now to the Paper it Self, which in several Places looks liker the *Charaëter* of a *Primitive Christian* Expos'd to the Lyons in a *Roman Theatre*; or That of an *Unfortunate Heroe* in the Field, than the *Figure* of a Person under the double Calamity of such a Cause and such a Sentence.

[I reckon This as the *Happiest Time* of my Life, tho Others may look upon it as the *saddest*.]

Can any Man living that has *Flesh and Blood* about him, understand This *Hyperbole* according to the *Letter*, especially under the *Circumstances* of such *Mortal Mistakes* and *miserable Illusions*? What could a *Martyr* at the Stake, under a Guard of *Angels* have said Greater than This? And here's The Arrow drawn to the Head again.

[The *Importunity* of my Friends, and particularly of the best and dearest Wife in the World, prevailed with me to sign Petitions, and make an Address for my Life; To which I was very Averse; For (I thank God) though in all *Respects* I have lived One of the *Happiest*, and *Contentedst* Men of the World, (for now very near Fourteen Years) yet I am so willing to leave all, that it was not without Difficulty that I did any Thing for the Saving of my Life; that was *Begging*.]

How strangely has the Author of This Paragraph mistaken his Proportions! To draw the Character of a Seraphical, Resigning Christian from the Copy of a Stomackful, buffing Cavalier, and to talk of



the Last Test of a Dying Mans Religion and Profession, as if there were no more in't than a vain Puntilio, upon a point of Honour in a Sword-man. Is it become a Shame for a Delinquent to Acknowledge his Fault? For a Condemn'd Person to Pray for a stop to the Execution of Justice? For a Subject that by his own Confession has done amiss, to beg Pardon of his Sovereign? How long has it been a point of either Bravery, or Conscience, for a man to be so Averse to the Saving of his Life, as to oppose the only Proper and possible (nay the Lawful and Honourable) means of preserving it? A Petition in This Case, is so far, methinks, from Needing, either a Secondary Motive to the Inducing of it, or an Excuse for the doing of it, That, without being wanting to Himself, his Family, and his Friends, I cannot see how he could have Declin'd it. My Lords Signing of the Whole, has made him become Answerable for every Part: But these High Flights were Undoubtedly the Strokes of Another Pen, that took more Care to Advance and Support the Credit of a Faction than to keep within the Bounds of Sobriety and Decorum, in respect of his Lordships State and Condition. There are several Dashes besides too, that seem to be Influenc'd by the same Genius; and Written and Publish'd with the same Design; and with no more Regard neither, to the Case of the Person, or to the Pretence of the Paper.

[*I wish with all my Soul (says the Paper) All our Unhappy Differences were Removed; and that All sincere Protestants would so far Consider the Danger of Popery as to lay aside their Heats, and Agree against the Common Enemy; and that the Church-men would be less severe, and the Dissenters less scrupulous; for I think Bitterness and Persecution are at all times Bad, but much more, NOW.*]

'Tis true; My Lords *Hand* makes This Clause my Lords *Act* again: But He that Penn'd it, thought of nothing less, upon the Drawing of it up, than my Lords *Business*: For what's a **publick Reformation** to a **private Confession**? Here's a Gentleman, *Agonizing in Extremis*, brought-in with an *Expedient* in his Mouth against Popery. What's **Toleration, Comprehension, Association**, (for that's his Proposal) to a Man that's brought to his last *Miserere*; and upon the *Critical and Final Discharge* of his Soul to *Almighty God*? Here's a *Christian* under the *Instant*, and the *Indispensable Obligation* of *Forgiving all Mankind*, brought in (with his last *Gasp* betwixt his Teeth) *Arraigning* both Church and State, with *Cruelty and Persecution*. And what's the *Severity* of the Church-men that He *Complains* of? And what's the *Persecution*; but the *Executing* of the *Laws* upon *Others*: And living in a *Dutiful Obedience* to them, *Themselves*? *Persecution*: (he says) is *ever Bad, but much more NOW.*] What an *Emphatical*

phatical Note is it that This Critical [NOW] should be pitched upon for the Season of Indulging the Dissenters; which They have chosen out for the Season of taking Possession of the Government? But the Humour is Carried on; and there's a great deal more of the same Stuff still.

[For Popery, I look on it as an Idolatrous and bloody Religion; and therefore thought my self bound [in my Station] to do All I could against it; and by that, I foresaw I should Procure such Great Enemies to my self; and so powerful Ones; That I have been now for some time Expecting the worst; and blessed be God, I fall by the Axe, and not by the fiery Tryal.]

The First Period has in it, the very Style, as well as the Doctrine of the Old Covenant. There's the Doctrine of Resistance in't; with an Allowance (nay and an Obligation) for every man to be Seditious [in his Station.] The Second Period MEANS, That my Lord Russel fell under the Revenge of the Duke of York for Promoting the Bill of Exclusion. This Clause had my Lords General Assent as well as the Rest; but in Conscience and in Charity, I do firmly perswade my self, That it was gain'd by a Surprise, when the Disorder of His Lordships Thoughts, and the shortness of Time, perhaps would not bear much Deliberation; For whereas the Death of This poor Gentleman is Invidiously Charg'd upon  
upon

upon the Duke, for his Opposing Popery; the Duke Himself was to have been Murder'd (nay and the King too) by the Pretending Anti-Papal Party; and it was my Lords heavy Lot to Fall under the Fate of That Conspiracy. And the Bare Murder was not All neither; for Those that call themselves the True Protestants, were to have Done the horrid Fact: (And according to the Vote) to have reveng'd it upon the Papists. The Pen-man after This, makes the Unhappy Gentleman to Bless God, That he fell by the Axe not the Faggot; when yet at the same Time, so far was the Faction from dreading the King, the Duke and the Government, that Those very People that made the Greatest Noise with their fears, Jealousies and Apprehensions were themselves United in a Conspiracy to Blow up All, in one common Ruine. Now for the matter of Foresight and Expectation of Mischief; it is no wonder for Men that run desperate Courses to live in the Apprehension of Dangerous Effects.

[I did believe (says the Paper) and I do still, That Popery is Breaking-in upon the Nation; and that Those who Advance it, will stop at nothing to carry on their Designs. I am heartily sorry, that so many Protestants give their Helping-Hand to it.]

Was there ever such a Reckoning cast up betwixt the Great God and a miserable Sinner, and not One Moment left to set things Right in, betwixt That, and his

his Appearance at the last Tribunal? Here's not so much as *One Syllable* all this while, to my Lords *Cafe*, but only *Clamours* for fear of *Popery*; *Invektives* against the *Pretended Bringers* of it in; *Legal Protestants* turn'd over into the *Popish Calendar*; and all this while, the **Persecuted Persons** are the **Aggressors**. God forgive the Man, whoever it was (*if he has not sinn'd unto Death*) that wrought upon my Lord to Own this *Enflaming Paper*. And I cannot but hope, in *Charity* yet, that betwixt the *Delivery* of it and the *Stroke*, his Lordship Repented of the *Temerity*, and found a Place for *Mercy*.

But to spell a little upon *These Words* [ *I Did Believe, and I Do still, &c.* ] He does not say, upon what *Grounds*; He *Propounds* no *Remedy*; *Offers* no *Proof*: We hear nothing by whom it is to be *brought in*, or by *what means*: But it seems, there are both *Papists* and *Protestants* in the *Confederacy*. Why does he not tell us who they are, of *Both Sorts*? Or if it be only a bare *Conjecture*, methinks the *King* and his *Council* should be able to see as far into *This Business* as the *Prevaricator*: Or let it be as it will, I challenge the *World* to shew any *One Colourable Reason* for the **Printing** of it, that's **Honest**: To give the *Adviser* his due, *This Paper* was never *Calculated* either for my Lords **Cause** or **Service**, any further than to make  
use



use of his Name as a Vehicle, to convey the Spirits of this *Venom* into all the Corners of his Majesties Dominions. But he goes forward.

[I hope God will preserve the Protestant Religion, and This Nation: Though I am afraid it will fall under very great Tryals, and very Sharp sufferings. And indeed, the Impiety and Profaneness that abounds and appears so scandalously Barefaced every where, gives too just Reason to fear the worst things which can befall a People. I pray God prevent it, and give those who have shewed concern for the Publick good, and who have appeared **Hearty** for the **True** Interest of the Nation, and the Protestant Religion, Grace to live so, that they may not cast a Reproach on that which they endeavour to Advance.]

God deliver me from a Confessor, at my last Hour, that when I have but one Moment left to make my Peace with God in, shall put me upon employing that very Instant in casting Fire-Balls into a Nation, to set Three Kingdoms in a Flame: And instead of shristing my own Conscience, to be Raking in the Puddle of the Iniquities of my Neighbours. What's the End of these Terrifying Alarums, but to Gall and Teize the People, without any hope of Remedy, unless by flying to that Damned Principle of Conditional Obedience, to Embroil my hands in the Blood of my Sovereign? What's the English of this same [**Publick Good**] here; Appearing [**Hearty**] The [**True Interest of the Nation**] and the [**Protestant Religion**?] What is it, but the Old Cause in a New dress; And the direct Encouragement of a Schism, and Sedition, against the Authority both of Church and State? And then here's still the never-failing Topique at hand, of Impiety and Profaneness with a Characteristical Note of the other Party; As men Concerned for the **Publick Good**, **Hearty** for the **True**

**Interest**, and the **Protestant Religion**; under which Notion, the *Shammer* of this Paper upon my Lord, did beyond all controversy, *Intend* the **Conspirators**: For it does not only Answer his *Ordinary Description* of them; but he would have told us in *Plain Terms*, if he had meant *otherwise*, or at least he would have cast in as much *Schism* and *Rebellion* into the *other Scale* as would have kept the *Ballance Even*. Not but that the *Sedition* and *Prophaneness* are now (God be thanked for it) come to be *both of a side*. And here again;

[*What ever Apprehensions I had of Popery, and of my own severe and heavy share I was like to have under it, when it should prevail; I never had a thought of doing any thing against it Basely or Inhumanely; but what could well Consist with the Christian Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom: And thank God, I have Examined all my Actings in that matter with so great Care, that I can appeal to God Almighty, who knows my Heart, that I went on Sincerely, without being moved either by Passion, By-end, or Evil-Design.*]

We are still upon the *same Train* of **Uncertainties** and **Generals**. Why should *My Lord* have these *Apprehensions*, by reason of *His opposing Popery*? When the **King**, the **Church**, and the **Laws of the Land** are against Introducing the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, as much as *His Lordship*: But if the Paper means *One Popery*, and the *Law Another*; (As 'tis clear by the *Context* of it, that the *Church-Protestants* and the *Papists* are to be blown up into the Air *Together*) the *Pretext of Religion* is *Degenerated* into a *Point-blank Sedition*: And every man that Suffers for *Treason*, shall presently at this rate be made a *Martyr* for the *Reformation*. And again, will the *Composer* of this Paper have my Lords *Suffering* in this Case, to be an Argument



ment that **Popery** prevails ; because his Lordship foresaw the *Hard Measure* he was likely to have, in Case it should prevail : Neither will the *Lawfulness* of opposing **Popery**, in any sort, *Excuse* the *Doing* of it by *Unlawful means*. There must be no *Seizing of Guards* in the Case ; The *Fear* of a *False Religion* is no *Defence*, either before *God* or *Man*, for the *Violence* of an *Actual Rebellion*. How much more *Forcible* then is the *Condition* of **Our present Instance** ; where the *very men* that pretend to *Fear Popery*, are so far from *Fearing it Indeed*, that it is *one Branch* of the *Conspiracy* to say they *Fear it* : A *Second*, to give it out, that the **Papists** are about to *Kill the King* ; And at the same time, to *Resolve* to do it **Themselves** : And the last Round of the Ladder, is, by *Consent*, so soon as ever they have *Executed the Villany*, to make *Proclamation* that the **Papists** did it. But now we come to the *Deplorable Nicety* of my *Poor Lords Case* ; which, in *Appearance*, seems to be well nigh the *Single Proposition*, wherein the *Confessour* and the *Penitent* agreed ; And this was it, which cost both *Himself* and that *Noble Family* so *Dear*.

**Popery** was to be *Opposed* it seems, but not **Basely** or **Inhumanely** ; The *Guards* were not to be *Massacred* or *Killed* in their *Beds* ; But if the same thing in *Effect* might have been done *Bravely*, and *Sword in Hand*, I see nothing in this Paragraph to the contrary, but that in substance it might have been *Justified* ; for **BASELY** and **INHUMANLY** are the *Two only Exceptions* that I find to the doing of it : And they do *Tacitly Imply* a kind of **Approbation** of the *Thing*, Provided it might have been done in a way of *Reputative Generosity* and *Honour* ; for here's no *Regard* either **Had** or so much as **Intimated** in *That Particular*, to the *Laws* either of *God* or of *Man*.

There follows indeed a kind of *Restriction* (by way of a *Salvo*) That the *Proceeding* ought to hold a [*Consistence with the Christian Religion, and the Laws, and Liberties of this Kingdom.*] And where are we then? If *Julian*, the *First* and the *Second*; If *Apostates*, and the *Common Betrayers* of *Kings, Masters and People*, shall be made the *Judges* of *That Christian Religion*: Or *Hunt and Ferguson*, the *Arbitrators* of our *Common Rights*? Oh how I curse the *First Minute* that ever gave *Admittance* to any of these *Mutinous and Sanguinary Levites*, any of these *Popular or Seditious Bontefens*, under the *Roof* of that *Honourable House*! *Hinc ille Lachryma!* for *That mistaken Principle* was the *Root* of all this *Evil*; And the *Main Incentive*, (I persuade myself), to the doing of *Many ill things* by the *Impulse* of *That Delusion*: Had not a Man better have a *Cloven Foot* in's House, then one of these *Cloven Tongues*? The *Devil*, *Barefac'd*, puts a Man to his *Prayers*; He *Summons* up his *Resolutions*, and *Implores* a *Powerful* and a *Merciful God* for his *Assistance*, with a *Horror* all this while, for the *Character* and the *Company* of his *Seducer*: But in the *Other Case*, a Man *Abandons* himself to the *Impositor*; *Consults* no other *Oracle*, but takes his *Enemy* into his *Arms*, and *Opens* his *Heart* for the *Spirit of Error* to *Enter* in, and take *Possession* of him, *Pins* his *Faith* upon the *Sleeve* of his *Guide*, and *Swallows* the *Ruin* both of *Body, Soul and Estate*, with *Greediness*. He takes the *Broad Way* for the *Narrow*, &c. God Deliver all *Honest Men* out of the *Clutches* of these *Parasitical and Rapacious Hypocrites*! The *Dictator* of this *Paper* says, that [*My Lord Examined all his Actions*:] And truly so much the *Worse*, if they were *Examined* by Applying them to *False Rules and Measures*: And then he *Vouches* for the *Sincerity* of my *Lords Heart*,

Heart, which Sincerity avails little too, if it be founded upon a wrong Principle: And no Purgation at all, neither of his Innocency, in case of an Erroneous Judgment.

Now to Close this Remarque; the whole Paragraph is Mystery; and there may be Wrapt under it, what Meaning never the Reader shall find Reasonable to impose upon it: for a thing may be Contrary to the Laws both of Heaven and Earth; and yet in His Sense neither Base, nor Inhumane. Julian and Huns, make that which the Law calls Rebellion, to be Consistent with our Laws, Liberties and Religion: And then for the [Examining of his Actions] My Lords Monitor knows that Ravillac did as much; and in his own Private Thoughts, Approved them too. Our Regicides here at Home, did the same thing, and yet their Actions never the Better, or the more Warrantable for having stood That Tryal. We'll come now to his Reflexions upon the Bill of Exclusion.

[I cannot but give some Touch about the Bill of Exclusion, and shew the Reasons of my appearing in that bus'ness, which in short is this: That I thought the Nation was in such danger of Popery, and that the Expectation of a Popish Successor (as I have said in Parliament) put the Kings Life likewise in such danger, That I saw no way so effectual to secure Both, as such a Bill. As to the Limitations, which were proposed, if they were sincerely offered, and had passed into a Law, the Duke then would have been Excluded from the Power of a King, and the Government quite altered, and little more than the Name of a King left. So I could not see either Sin or Fault in the One, when all people were willing to admit of t'other; but thought it better to have a King with his Prerogative, and the Nation easie and safe under him, than a King without it, which must have bred Perpetual Jealousies and a Continual Struggle.

All

*All this I say, only to justify my self, and [not to enflame Others,] though I cannot but think, my Earnestness in That Matter has had no small Influence in my present Sufferings.]*

With Honour to my *Lords Reasons* for the *Bill*; the *Best* and the *Truest Reason* that ever I met with for't, was This; That the *Exclusion* of the *Duke* would certainly draw the *Crown* after it; and that the *Suppressing* of *Monarchy* and *Episcopacy* was the *Best Expedient*, that ever was heard of, for the *Preventing* of *Tyranny* and *Popery*; so that the *Disease* was expressly *invented* for the *sake* of the *Remedy*: In the *Parliament-Case*, the *Kings* Life, it seems, was in *danger* for the *Successors* sake: And in the *Plot-Case*, the *Successors* Life was in *danger*, for the *Kings* sake: There were *Limitations* offer'd (he says) but whether *SYN-CERELY* offer'd or *not*, he makes a *Question*, (for which his Majesty owes him a Thousand Thanks) but whether the *One* or the *Other*, they were however very heartily *Rejected*; and he gives This *Reason* for't. They would have left the *Duke* only the *Name* of a *King*, without the *Power*; But my *Lords Prompter* was Resolv'd, that the *Duke* should either have *All* or *None*, and that the *Heir* should be quite *struck off* rather than the *Crown Wain'd*. Now upon This *Consideration*, (and for the *saving* of the *Prerogative*, and for the *Ease* of the *People*,) The *Paper-Writer* Absolves my Lord from either *Sin* or *Fault*, in the bus'ness of the *Bill*; forgetting upon *set Purpose* on his Lordships behalf, That my Lord had *Promoted* the *Bill* before ever these *Limitations* were thought of. Touching the *Influence* that my *Lords Earnestness* in *That matter* might have upon his *After-Sufferings*; I shall easily Agree with the *Supposer* of it, That there might be something in't; for the  
Project

*Project of Secluding the Duke, was a Limb of that Design, which afterwards grew up into a Form'd Conspiracy, and Unhappily brought This mistaken Lord to his End. But to impute any part of my Lords Sufferings to the Malice of a vindictive Spirit, for what he either said, or did, in Parliament, would lye open to so many Disproofs and Contradictions, that there is not place for any man in sound Sense so much as to imagine it. My Lord most Un fortunately fell into a Cabal of Male-Contents; frequented their Meetings; joyn'd with'em in their Councils. There was a Conspiracy Carry'd on, which, by the Mercy of God was reasonably Detected: My Lord, with others, Apprehended upon it; brought to a Fair Tryal, the Matter Legally Prov'd: And his Lordship Himself, not able to Deny the Substance of the Charge. Upon This, he was found Guilty, Sentenced and put to Death. And what's All This to any Court-Influence of Revenge, for his Lordships Earnestness about the Bill? But we have taken up an opinion in these late Times, as if the putting of an Indignity upon The Heir of the Crown were enough to make a Man Shot-free, and HARD, as they say, And that the 25 Edw. 3. could never Touch him after.*

But as I was saying just now, The Faction had Two Capital Designs in Contemplation; the One was the Destroying of the Duke and the King: And the Other was the Destroying of the King and the Duke. The Former was to have been Executed by Bill; and the Other by Gun-Shot. The Passing of the Bill had absolutely done the Work; but in a way of Form, and by Votes and Ordinances, which we have found to be every jot as sure, as Protestant Flayles or Blunderbusses. For One Disinheritson opens a Gap to Another. And when they have once got the Trick of Putting by a Successor, whom they do not like; 'tis Fifty to One, the Humour will take



take them of *liking no Successor at all*, and so by *Degrees*, there will follow a *Transition* from a *Dislike* of the *Person* to a *Dislike* of the *Government*: And the *Monarchy* it self will be found as Great a *Grievance*, as the *next Best*. When they are once enter'd upon this *Train* of *Reformation*, there will be care taken that we shall never want *more work for the Tinker*; till the *New State-Menders* may come to have the *stopping of Those Holes* that they made *themselves*: All *Councillors* shall be *Papish*, all *Ministers* and *Officers*, the *Guards*, the *Militia*, and *All Persons whatsoever* in any *Station of Trust* and *Power*, they shall be *Papists* or *Papishly affected*, *every Man* of 'em; saving such only as shall stand the *Test* of a *Secret Committee*. Now by this time we are within *One Remove* of a *True Protestant Commonwealth*: There is *One Question* that I have put at least half a dozen times already, without *Receiving* so much as the least *Pretence* to an *Answer*: And I shall offer it once again to the *Consideration* of the *Exclusion-Men*, Let any Man shew me *One Argument*, that strikes upon the *Succession* of the *Duke*, which does not equally *Operate* upon the *King* in *Possession* too. For the *same Popery* that *unqualifies* the *Lawful Successor* for the *Inheritance* of *Sovereign Power*, does as well *Unqualify* the *present Occupant* for the *Exercise* of it: As it is an *Equal Sin*, in the sight of God, the *Destroying* of a *Child* in the *Womb*, or the *Squeezing* of the *Brains* out when it comes into the *World*.

Consider now again, that as the *King* was to be wounded through the *Duke*, so long as matters were to be Carried on with a *Countenance* of *Authority*, *Law* and *Conscience*; so the *Duke* was to be NOW wounded through the *King*, when they found themselves driven upon a *Forc'd Put*, and to the making of an *Attempt* by *Violence*:

*Violence*: but still They were **Both** to be *Destroy'd*, **Both ways**; only, *vice versa*; the *Duke* to go first in a **Parliamentary way**: And as *Hone* said ) the *King* to go first in an *Affassinating way* But what's All this still to the *Cafe* of a **Dying Man**? I shall proceed now.

[*From the time of Chastiz Sh riffs, I Concluded the Heat in That Matter would produce something of This kind; and I am not much surprized to find it fall upon Me; and I wish what is done to Me, may put a Stop, and satiate some Peoples Revenge; and that no more innocent Blood be shed; for I must, and do still look upon MINE as SUCH; since I know I was guilty of no Treason; and therefore I would not Betray my Innocence by Flight, &c.*]

It was well judg'd, that the *City Ryots* would probably [*produce something of this kind*] that is to say, *Conspiracies* and *Resolutions* of *Tumult* and *Rebellion*: And the *Evil Genius* at my *Lords Elbow*, does well enough *Observe* that there was no great matter of *Surprize* in't; for my Lord that was *Embarqu'd* in the *same Vessel*, to take his Part in the *same Storm*. But how comes *Legal Justice* to be call'd [*some Peoples Revenge?*] Or why may not *All Criminals* whatsoever, that fall under the dint of the *Law*, Arraign the *Justice* of the *Nation*, upon the *same Terms*? It does no more hold, on the *One* side, that the *City heats* should make my Lord *guilty*, than on the *Other*, that they should make him *innocent*; neither do *Those Distempers*, in any sort, fall within the Prospect of *This Question*: Beside, That *this way of Reasoning* inverts the very *Nature*, and *Tendency* of them: For they are here represented as a *subservient Medium* toward the Advancing of a *Papish Interest*, when the *Contrary* is as clear as *Day*: And that it was a *Republican* and a *Phanatical Spirit* that stir'd up, and *Animated All those Broils*; and that they did it upon such

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Grounds



*Grounds and Principles* too, as shook the very *Monarchy* it self. But if my Lord drew any *Ill Bowings* to himself from *Those Disorders*, it was by a *Prophetical Foresight* of the *Fatal Miscarriages* of the *Sedition* that was then a *Brewing*: and of his own *Unhappy share* in the *Misadventure*. We have spoken already to the point of *Revenge*, and we shall speak further to his *Lordsships Innocence* in the due Place; as to his [*Averseness to the betraying of his Innocence by Flight,*] either the *Inference* is not *Good*; or else, *All Those* that are *Fled* are *Guilty*. The Paper says, that he was [*Guilty of no Treason,*] but the *Fudges* were of *One Opinion*, and my *Lords Council* of *Another*.

[*I know (says the Author of the Paper) I said but little at the Tryal, and I suppose it looks more like Innocence than Guilt.*]

Can it be imagin'd, that my Lord did not *Defend himself* as well as he *could*? And it is the *First Time* perhaps, that ever *saying little* to an *Accusation*, was made an *Argument* of a *Man's Innocence*: But of this hereafter, and so I shall go forward.

[*I pray God (says the Paper) lay not this [my Condemnation] to the Charge, neither of the Kings Counsel, nor Fudges, nor Sheriffs, nor Fury, and for the Witnesses, I pity them, and wish them well; I shall not reckon up the Particulars, wherein they did me wrong, I had rather their own Consciences should do that; to which, and the Mercies of God I leave them.*]

Here's a most *scandalous Defamation* thrown out against the *Kings Council*, the *Fudges*, *Sheriffs*, *Fury* and *Witnesses*, all at a *Cast*; though the *Manage* was so *Fair* in *All Respects*, that the *Justice* and *Patience* of the *Court* was *Acknowledged* by the very *Zelotes* of the *Party themselves*: They could not but *Confess*, that the *Tryals*

als were *Candid* and *Clear*; they were heard at *large*; the *Proofs* *indubitable*, and *seconded* by their *Own Confessions*. But I must Observe again, that this Paper makes them *Guilty*, only by a *Figure*, and *prays* for them without *charging* them. It *Prays* for the *Witnesses*, [*wherein they did my Lord wrong*;] but he is not pleas'd to reckon up the *Particulars*: Nor is it said, that *they did him any Wrong at all*. The *Penman* will not charge my *Lords Conscience* with *Averting* any thing that is *False*; but he has *Colour'd* it so, as to make the *People* Believe he had *wrong* done him, and that will do as well. He leaves the *Particulars*, however, [*to their own Consciences and Gods Mercys*:] so that, in short, This Paper is only a *Scotch Mist* from one End to the Other. There's a *bold Insinuation* of *Injustice*; but not One *Syllable* in *Proof*, or so much as to *Colour* it.

But we'll put the Case now that my Lord had *really suffer'd* All the *Wrong* he *Complains* of; 'tis true, it was the Part of a *Generous Christian* to close his Eyes with *St. Stephens Prayer*; but then the *printing* of That *Prayer* stands in a *Direct Opposition* to the seeming *Piety* and *Resignation* of it; for it lays *Innocent Blood* to the *Charge* of the *Government*: And *Exposes* the *Administrators* of it to the uttermost *Rage* and *Fury* of the *Multitude*, as the most *Abominable Monsters* upon the Face of the *Earth*; and All this, without the least *Thought*, *Hope*, or *Possibility* of any *Other Benefit* by it, than the *Tearing* of All to *pieces*, and the making of *This Paper* to do the *work* of the *Conspiracy*. Can any body think that his *Lordship* would not have laid his *finger* upon the *wrong*, if he had *suffer'd* any? Or that if he could (as he says) have *reckon'd up* any *Particulars*, that he would not have done it? He says in another Place,

[*I do freely forgive All the World, particularly those*  
D 2 *concern'd*]

*'one run'd in taking away my Life; and I desire and Conjure my Friends to think of no Revenge.'*

These Words are only the same **Prayer** with the Former, **turn'd into Sin** (as the Prophet David says) but manag'd *Another way*: And the *short English* of this *Ejaculation* is a *Prayer to Almighty God to forgive his Murderers*; with an intent to cast the *Guilt* of shedding *Innocent Blood* now a *Second Time* upon the *Ministers of Justice*: And what does the *Artificial Hypocrite* that *Penn'd this Paper*, but in the very *Act of Conjuring my Lords Friends to think of no Revenge*, Do all that is possible by This Printed Appeal, to draw on a publick *Vengeance* from the *Irritated and Seditious Rabble*. And once again now.

[*I never pretended to a Great Readiness in Speaking, I wish those Gentlemen of the Law, who have it, would make more Conscience in the use of it, and not run Men down by Strains and Fetches, Impose on Easy and willing Furies to the Ruine of Innocent Men, for to kill by Forms and Subtleties of Law is the worst Sort of Murder: But I wish the Rage of hot Men and the Partiality of Furies may be topped with my Blood, which I would offer up with so much the more JOY, if I thought I should be the last were to suffer in such a way.*]

This is only a **Strain** and a **fetch** (as the Paper says) for the running the same *Scandal* over again, with a little Varying the *Phrase*. Who are those *Unconscionable Gentlemen of the Law*? Whom do they run down? What are the **Strains** and **fetches**? Or where are the *Easy and willing Furies*? The *Ruin'd Innocents*? Or the **Murders** according to *Art*? The *Outrageous Men*, and the *Partial Furies*? The *People* are to understand this to be my *Lords Case*, though the *Author himself* has not the *Face to make it so*, either on the *One side*, or on the *Other*; and

and then he has wrought the *Character* too *High*, in the Expression of my Lords *Offering up his Blood* [with the more Joy] instead of the less *Trouble* or *Affliction*; and *Concludes* with the laying of *Innocent Blood* again to the Charge of the *Government*. Upon the whole matter, this is only more and more *Calumny*, and *Iniquity* added to *Iniquity*. Whoever suggested *this Dictate* to his Lordship, might have minded him of those very *Gown-men* and *Furriers*, that he speaks of, within the Memory of Man: and of a *Time*, when People were Destroy'd, not only by *Forms* and *Subtleties* of *Law*, but by *meer Noise* and *Tumult*: and to the End, that nothing may be wanting to the filling up the *Measure of the Scandal*, the *King Himself* comes in for his share too, when he prays [that He may be [INDEED] the *Defender of the Faith*] implying That he is only so as yet, in *shew* and *Title*. It may be another Question now, in what *Creed* we are to look for *That Faith*, which the Contriver of this Paper would have his Majesty to *Defend*: Or in what Part of Dr. *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, a body may be sure to find it.

[I have Liv'd (he says) and now Dye of the Reformed Religion; A true and sincere Protestant, and in the Communion of the Church of England, though I could never yet comply with, or rise up to all the Heights of many People.]

That is to say, I am not of the Church of Rome in General, not a *Papist*, but a *Protestant*, and a *Church of England Protestant* too; Bating, the [Established by Law] College Himself went thus far, and yet no body knew what to make of him at last. We have a hundred and fifty several sorts of *English Protestants*, and consequently in his Sense, so many *Communities* of the Church of England: For All the several Sects have their several Churches, and

and when they are put to the *Touch*, Every Sect *Denominates* it self of the *Church of England*: So that instead of the *Simplicity* of a *Declaration* and *Confession*, we have not hitherto so much as One Line, that is not wrapt up in *Equivocation* and *Mystery*: but the Only way of Expounding his *Intent* in this *Particular* must be by a *Collocation* of *Parts* and *Comparing* (as we do *Scripture Difficulties*) One *Text* with *Another*. He Complains in One Place of *Bitterness* and *Persecution*, and Charges the *Church-men* with *Severity*. He Reflects in *Another* Place upon [many Protestants that give a Helping Hand to Popery,] Now it cannot be Imagin'd, that the *Shame-Confessor* (whoever he be) reckons my Lord, either among the *Persecuting*, or among the *Popishly-affect'd-Protestants*; So that there's no *Church of England* Communion left him, but that of the *Dissenters*. And what does he mean again, now, by the [Weights of many People?] the *Standard* of a *Legal Conformity* is neither *Higher* nor *Lower*, than the *Established Rule* and *Measure*: So that upon the *Unriddling* of this *Clause*, the wondrous *Difficulty* terminates in a very plain *Resolution*: i.e. That the *Protestant* hereby intended, is a *Dissenting Member* of the *Non-Conforming Communion* of the *Church of England*. Thus far we have had Nothing but *Doubling* and *Shifting*: But after a *Diligent* and a *Careful Search* for One *Clear* and *Plain Dealing-Period* or Two, that might in some Degree *Aton*e for the *Oraculous Elusions* of the *Rest*, this is the Only *Point-blank-Affirmation* that I find in the whole Paper

[I shall Averr, that what I said of my not hearing Colonel Rumsey deliver any Message from my Lord Shaftsbury, was TRUE, for I always Detested Lying, though never so much to my Advantage; And I hope none will be so Unjust as to think I would adventure on it, in These my last



last Words, for which I am so soon to give an Account to the Great God, the Searcher of Hearts and Judge of all Things.]

I take this to be the most Remarkable Passage in the Paper, being the Only Point that my Lord delivers upon his Death, to be a Truth, without power of Revocation; And it is done too, with a Solemnity as Dreadful as the Contemplation of Divine Justice, and a Judgement to come, can make it. All the Rest is Loose and Dubious, and may be taken One way as well as Another: But in this, the Affeuration is Positive and Precise, i. e. that [*What my Lord said of his not hearing Colonel Rumsey Deliver any Message from my Lord Shaftsbury, was True*] We'll take it for granted now, that my Lord did Not hear the Delivery of That Message: That is to say, a Message from the Earl of Shaftsbury, [*That it was High Time to come to some Resolution about the Rising*] It does not therefore follow, that because My Lord did Not hear the Delivery of the Message, he knew nothing therefore of the Contents of it: His Lordship heard the Subject Matter of the Message Debated; And he Heard the Answer that was Resolved upon in Return to that Message: Which was in Effect, [*That Mr. Trenchard was not Ready, and therefore they could not as yet go on.*] Nay, My Lord did not deny the Hearing of the Answer, but put the Question himself at his Tryal, [*Whether or no he Consented to that Answer:*] And Collonel Rumsey delivered upon his Oath, that he did both Advise about it, Treat and Consent; So that it is not the value of a Single-Hair, (if there were Twenty Thousand Lives at Stake upon it) whether my Lord Heard that Message Delivered or Not. What's the Meaning then of laying the Stress of his Salvation upon't: He Purges himself of no Part of his Charge  
by't

by't, but rather by the *Frankness* of his *Protestation* in a matter of *Little or No Importance*, and without leaving himself any *Room* for an *Evasion*, he draws a *Suspicion* upon the *Candor* and *Clearness* of all the rest, for it looks *Odly* to see a man so *Wonderfully solemn*, and *Particular* in one single *Case*, where 'tis not a farthing matter whether it be *Cross* or *Pile*: And yet at the same time so *Dark* and *Doubtful* in twenty other *Instances*, where all that can be dear to a Man of *Integrity* and *Honour*, is concerned. But the *Paper* it self gives the *Reason* of this *Different* way of *Proceeding*, in saying that my Lord [*always detested Lying*:] Upon which consideration it has *Distinguished* betwixt things *True* and *False*, by the *Peremptory Strictness* of the *One*, and the *Ambiguities* and *Reservations* of the *Other*, which is the only *Key* that *Opens* the *Meaning* of this *Paper*. And there's another thing to be observed, which is, that *This very Truth* was designed as a means to lead the Reader into a *Mistake*, as if *My Lords* not hearing the *Delivery* of the *Message*, were sufficient in *Consequence*, to *Discharge* him of the *Guilt* and *Danger* of the *Consultation*. My Lords *Adviser* has shewed himself a great *Master* in the *Doctrine* of *Probabilities*, This *Paper* quite through-out. There's but *One plain Truth* in't, and yet as the matter is ordered, there is hardly *One Falstye* neither, but it runs altogether in *Appearance* and *Disguise*, like one of your *Turning Pictures* that shews you a *Beast* on the *One Hand*, and a *Man* on the *Other*. It was *Generally Noted*, that my Lord had very little to oppose in his own *Defence* at his *Tryal*, and his *Black Angel* has found out a *Shift* for *That* too.

¶ I was *Advised* not to *Confess* *Matter of Fact* plainly; since that must certainly have brought me within the *Guilt* of *Perjury*; and being thus *Restrained* from dealing *Frank-*



Frankly and Openly, I chose rather to say Little, then to depart from That Ingenuity, that, by the Grace of God, I had carry'd along with me in the former Parts of my Life: And so could Easier be silent, and leave the whole matter to the Conscience of the Jury, then to make the Last, and Solemnest Part of my Life so different from the Course of it, as the using Little Tricks, and Evasions must have been.]

I cannot bring the several Parts of this Clause to a Consistence One with Another. My Lord was Advis'd against Confessing PLAINLY, FRANKLY, OPENLY. He Follow'd That Advice; And in so doing, Min'd the Matter, and Confess'd NOT PLAINLY, ~~Not~~ FRANKLY, ~~Not~~ OPENLY. That is to say; he Confess'd ~~Diffidently~~, and kept himself upon his Guard: which, how Prudent soever, was yet a Departure from the Scrupulous Dignity of his Lordships Figure, in This Paragraph; and falls within the Compass of the Little Tricks and Evasions which I find in the very same Period, Condemn'd. But where's the Hurt now, of a Man's Employing All the Honest Arts, and Methods, for the Defence of his Life that the Cause will bear? As desiring to know the Pannel, for the purpose; Time to Consider of it; Liberty of Challenges, and the like. But to Descend now from This Elevated Resolution to the very matter of Fact; I dare appeal to the most Partial, or rather to the most Favourable Friend my Lord had in the world, whether he thinks that his Lordship Abated any thing of the Defence that he could or would otherwise have made, upon the reason here Alleg'd; of keeping up the Congruity of his Character, to the end that in his Life and in his Death, he might be all of a piece. I must take notice again, that it is a very Extraordinary way, for a Prisoner at the Barr to be silent, where he has any

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thing to say for *himself*; And so to clear the whole matter to the *Conscience* of a *Jury*, when in *Conscience* they must Necessarily find *him* *Guilty*, if the proofs *Reach him*; and that he has nothing to say, to the *Contrary*. And then there's Another foul *Blot* too, in saying, that the [*Confession of the Fact*, PLAINLY,] must [CERTAINLY *have brought my Lord within the Guilt of Misprision*.] That same [CERTAINLY] has shew'd the World the very Bottom of the Business; for what becomes of [*The Words of a Dying Man*] then, that *my Lord* knows of *No Plot*, either against the *Kings Life*, or the *Government*] when here's a *Plain Confession* of the *Knowledge* of a *Conspiracy*, and the *Concealment* of it? There can be no *Dispute* upon this *Contradiction*, but the *Denial* must of Necessity be either *False*, or *Double*. The *One* Pinches upon a Point of *Honour*; The *Other* looks only like a *Trial of Skill*: And so we shall content our selves to cast it into the Heap of his *other Amphibologies*. (I make use of a *Hard Word* for a *very Ill Thing*, because I would not have the *Common People* understand the *meaning* of it.) And it is upon *This Condition*, too, that the Reader shall be at liberty to take all his *Other Reservations* by the same *Handle*; for upon the *Solution* of *This Difficulty*, depends the very *Issue* of the *Question*. There Remains One Slip more yet, wherein the Author seems to have Over-shot himself. There's a *Reproach* fastened upon his *Lordsbips Council*, as if *They* had *Train'd* him into a *Snare*, by *Disadvising* him. 'Tis True, that the *Paper* does not say *expresly*, whether they were *Profess'd Gownmen*, or *Particular Friends* that gave the *Advice*: But yet for the *Reputation* of his *Lordsbips Prudence*, it must be understood of *Lawyers*; as the *Only Competent Directors* that *my Lord* could make use of, in such an *Extremity*. Who can Imagine, now, that any *Lawyer*,  
(though

(though never so little *Skill'd* in his *Profession*) could *Advise* my Lord upon *Fair Instructions*, and a *Manifest Certainty* of what would be *Sworn* against him, to *Smother*, or to *Extenuate* the matter of *Fact*; least (as the Paper *Insinuates*) it should be found *Misprision of Treason*? when *Effectually*, *This Lawyer* could have told my Lord his *Doom beforehand*: And that it would undoubtedly have been found, not only *Misprision*, but *Treason it self*. In which Condition; my Lords Council, would rather have advis'd him to have thrown himself upon the *Kings mercy*. And there is more then a *Tacit Acknowledgment* of my Lords *Guilt*, In several other Parts of this Paper: But I'll take *This following passage* in my way to the rest.

[*As I never had any Design against the Kings Life, or the Life of any Man whatsoever; so I never was in any Contrivance of Altering the Government: What the Heats, Wickedness, Passions, and Vanities of Other Men have Occasioned, I ought not to be Answerable for; nor could I Repress them, though I now Suffer for them: But the Will of the Lord be done, into whose Hands I commend my Spirit, and trust that Thou, O most merciful Father, hast forgiven me all my Transgressions; the Sins of my Youth, and all the Errors of my past Life; and that Thou wilt not lay my secret Sins and Ignorances to my Charge, &c.*]

I shall here Recommend one special Note to the Reader: Which is, That in *Five several Places* (i. e. *Twice* in the *Speech*, and *Thrice afterwards*) this Paper *Restrains* my Lords Endeavour to discharge himself from the *Dint* of the *Indictment*, to the express *Hints*, of the *Kings Life*, and *Altering or Changing* the *Government*. As for Example: [*God knows how far I was always from Designs upon the Kings Person, or Altering the Government: In the Words of a Dying Man, I profess I know of no Plot, either against the Kings Life, or*

the **Government.**] And then afterwards, [*I never had any Design of Changing the Government, &c.*] I would have suffer'd any thing rather than have consented to any Design to take away the **Kings Life.**] And so again in the Clause last above-mention'd. The Hammering of This Point over and over, so often, was, Undoubtedly, to strike the Deeper Impression, and to create, in the short-sighted Multitude, a Stronger Persuasion of my Lords Innocence. But why in the **Same words** still? And with so Cautious, and Particular a Limitation, to Those Two Articles; if it were not to Accommodate That Popular Cover to some Hidden Meaning? But the Fallacy that's Couch'd under [*The Kings Life*] and [*Altering the Government*] is expos'd already. It is said here, That my Lord had no Design against the Life of any man whatsoever: 'Tis hard to imagine a War, and no body to be Kill'd in't: But there's a Salvo for That too; That the Individual Person was not thought of. Neither do I believe that my Lord ever Design'd to take away the Life of Dr. Hawkins, though he said in his Passion, that [*he hop'd to live to see him Flead and Hung up.*] That which follows next, speaks my Lord Privy to a Great many Ill Things; And it is not enough to say, that he could not Repress them; For they were of such a Quality, that his Lordship was Bound, both by Oath, and Duty to Discover them; Or at the least, In Honour, and in Conscience, to have avoided a Conversation that carried on such Dangerous Designs.

And now to speak one word to that which passes for his Lordships last Prayer. We have his own Acknowledgment of a Misprision of Treason, And yet not one syllable upon that Subject, in his Parting Confession. But he that wrote this Paper is a Profess'd Enemy I perceive, to the Christianity of a Clear Confession.

I hope nobody (says the Paper) will imagine, that so mean a Thought could enter into me, as to go about to save my self by accusing others. The Part that some have Acted lately of that kind, has not been such as to invite me to love Life at such a Rate.]

A Man shall not need to Guess twice, who was the Author of this Sentence; for 'tis written with the very Spirit of a *Carguelite* that makes *Treason*, a *Virtue*, and *Repentance*, a *Mortal Sin*: And my Poor Lord, in the Anguish of his Thought, is left here to Answer for the Lewdness of Another man, who, (Notwithstanding the Justness of my Lords Sentence,) is Incomparably the Greater Criminal. If he ever was, or Pretended to be a Minister of the Gospel, (For there are *Julians in Black-Coats*, and more *Julians* than One too) what could be more *Luciferian*; then to turn *Penitence* into a *Scandal*; And to Preach it for a Point of Religious Honour, in a Christian, not to Discover his Complices in a Rebellion. Surely the Author of this Paper was afraid of being Discovered himself; And therefore Inculcates the Principle, and Recommends it: Is it such an Indignity, for a man to [**Save himself by Accusing Others?**] What is it then for a man rather to Damn his Soul by the Perjurious Concealment of a Traytor; then by Discharging his Duty, both to God and to his Prince, to lay down This Life in hope of a Better, through the Merits and Intercession of a most Merciful Saviour? The Pen-man's [**Saving of Himself, by Accusing Others.**] is only the False Gloss of a Reprobated Seducer upon the Text. And then the Instance of his Reproach upon the Kings Witnesses, in this Matter, is a Farther Discovery of the Venom of him that gave the Dictate. This is a way chalk'd-out, not only for the Encouragement, but almost the Canonizing of Conspirators. Here is an Acknowledgement however, that my



my Lord **Could** have *Accused Others*, if he **would**. We shall come now to the Matter of *Fact*.

[*As to the Conspiring to seize the Guards, which is the Crime for which I am Condemned, and which was made a Constructive Treason for taking away the Kings Life, to bring it within the Statute of Edw. 3. I shall give this true and Clear Account. I never was at Mr. Shepheard's with that Company but once, and there was no undertaking then of Securing, or seizing the Guards; nor none appointed to View, or Examine them; Some Discourse there was, of the Feasibleness of it; And several times by Accident, in General Discourse, elsewhere. I have heard it Mentioned as a thing might easily be done; but never Consented to as Fit to be done, And I remember particularly, at my Lord Shaftsbury's, there being some General Discourse of this kind, I immediately flew out, and Exclaimed against it, And ask'd [If the thing succeeded what must be done next, but, Massacring the Guards, and killing them in Cold Blood?] which I look'd upon as so Detestable a thing, and so like a Popish Practice, that I could not but abhor it: And at the same time, the Duke of Monmouth took me by the Hand, and told me very kindly, My Lord, I see you and I are of a temper. Did you ever hear so horrid a thing? And I must needs do him that Justice, to Declare, that I never observed in him but an Abhorrence to All Base Things.*]

My Lord was charg'd by the Indictment of High Treason, for *Conspiring, Compassing, and Imagining the Death and Destruction of the King; And the Raising of a Rebellion within the Kingdom.* Now this was a Consultation in Order to that end: And for that which is here call'd a **Constructive Treason**, It was much a Plainer Act of Treason then any thing in the Articles against my Lord Chief Justice Scroggs; And yet *That* pass'd for a very  
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*Current, House-of-Commons-Treason.* The Paper says, that my Lord was but once at Mr. Shepherds with that Company: Mr. Sheppard swears it Twice, with the same Company: But that Slip of Memory shall go for Nothing. There was [No Undertaking to seize the Guards,] it seems; nor any [Appointment to View, or Examine them.] That's because it was not yet come to a **Resolution**: But here's no Denyal at all, of a *Debate* or *Consultation* toward it: The Exploit was found [Feisble, and several Discourses about it.] But said only to be in **General**, and by **Accident**; Is it meant that they **Wett** by *Accident*, and so fell upon *Discourse* only by *Accident*; And that *This Particular* of [Seizing the Guards] fell in only as an *Accidental Discourse*? This way of **Disguising** the Truth is as Clear to any man that has Eyes in his head, as if it were a **Plain Confession** of it; for if it were meant **Good Faith**, the Author would have strain'd himself for another Invocation of [the Great God, the Searcher of Hearts, and Judge of All Things,] to bear *Witness* to the *Explicite Truth* of the Case. But [it was never Consented to as fit to be done.] Now *That Fitness* may re'err to the **Time**; the **Means**; the **ways**, the **Instruments**. They had not yet Pitcht upon a *Safe*, and *Effectual Way* perhaps, for the *doing* of it: But there was [More, General Discourse now of the same Kind at my Lord Shaftsbury's] And *This* was a Terrible **General Discourse**, for it made my Lord immediately *Fly out*, and *Exclaim* against it. I wish the Paper had set forth **what this General Discourse** was; And what the **Other** was too, that fell in by **Accident**; And whether **that General Discourse** and **This General Discourse**, were not as good as all one: But in short; **Such** General Discourse it was, that it wanted but one step, of *Massacring the Guards*; Or *cutting their Throats* in their *Beds*; which, the Paper says,

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[My Lord **Abhor'd** it for, being so like a **Papish Practice**] A Presbyterian Practice would not have done a miss neither in *This Place*, if a body had had the *Murder of the Late King; Montrofs*; The Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews &c.* in his thought. But shall any man at last be so *Weak*, as to swallow it, that [**Did you ever hear so Horrid a Thing.**] was only an *Exclamation* upon a **General** and **Accidental** Discourse? All the *Rest* went down well enough, till it came to the *Cut-Throat-part* of it. And that was the Point that Startled them: The *Doing of the Business*, either in a *Brave, Generous Way, Head to Head*; or with *Cap in Hand*; And a *Complement of Loyalty, and Respect*, to Desire his Majesty, in *These Dangerous Times*, to sign a *Demise of his Three Kingdoms*, to the Use of the *Council of Six*; Or to a *Band of Associators*, for the Security of his *Sacred Person*, and the *Protestant Religion*; I do not find, (by any thing I see yet) that the *Men of Honour* (if the *Paper-Writer* might have had his Will) would have *Bogg'd* at such a way of *Proceeding*; But the doing of the Thing **Basely**, was the *Business*; And the *Scruple* that was made, was upon a Point of *Bravery*, not *Conscience*. But to Continue the Story.

[As to my going to Mr. Shepheards, I went with an **Intention** to taste Sherry; for he had promised me to Reserve for me the next very good Piece he met with, when I went out of Town; and if he recollects, he may remember I askt him about it, and he went and fetcht a Bottle: But when I tasted it, I said 'twas Hot in the Mouth; and desired that whenever he met with a Choice Piece, he would keep it for me which he Promised. I Enlarge the more upon This, because Sir George Jefferies Insinuated to the Jury, as if I had made a Story about going thither; but I never said, [That was the **Only** Reason] And I will now **Truly** and **Plainly** add the rest.]

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By this Paragraph, the Reader is to be held in hand, that my Lords BUSINESS to Mr. Shepheards was to taste Sherry: And the Paper goes about to Refresh Mr. Shepheard's Memory, by such and such Tokens, the Word is [with an Intention to taste Sherry] which in common Speech, does fairly insinuate, as if the Tasting of Sherry had been the chief End of his going; Whereas supposing that to be in his Intention, it might be, nevertheless yet, the least part of his Business: And further, the Author of this Paper has not thought fit to give us any Sort of Light, what his Business was: Nay, Mr. Shepheard, on the other hand, swears that it was a Meeting by Appointment, and that there was nothing of the Sherry-Story in the Case. My Lord, however, made use of this Suggestion at his Tryal; and Sir George Jeffries Reflecting upon it to the Jury, this Paper undertakes the Excusing of One Shift with Another: The Tasting of Sherry was One Reason, though not the only Reason. But we are now to Expect a True and Plain Account of the rest.

[I was the day before this Meeting, come to Town, for two or three days, as I had done, once or twice before; having a very Near and Dear Relation lying in a very Languishing and Desperate Condition: And the Duke of Monmouth came to me, and told me, he was extremely glad I was come to Town; for my Lord Shaftsbury and some Hot men would undo us all: How so, My Lord, said I? Why (answered he) they'll certainly do some Disorderly thing or other, if Great Care be not taken, and therefore for God's sake; Use your Endeavours with your Friends to prevent any thing of this kind. He told me, there would be company at Mr. Shepheards that night, and desired me to be at home in the Evening, and he would call me, which he did: And when I came into the Room, I saw Mr. Rumsley by

the Chimney, though he swears he came in after; and there were things said by some with much more Heat than Judgment, which I did sufficiently Disapprove, and yet for these Things I stand Condemned: But I thank God my Part was sincere and well meant: It is, I know, inferred from hence, and was pressed to me, that I was acquainted with those Heats and Ill Designs, and did not Discover them; but this is but Misprision of Treason, at most. So I dye Innocent of the Crime I stand Condemned for, &c.]

Here's a short Account of my Lords coming twice or thrice to Town; and that he had a Dear Relation lying sick here: But whether he came upon a Visit, or upon the Business in Question, the Paper says Nothing. The Duke of Monmouth Complains to him, as above, of my Lord Shaftsbury and Other Hot Headed Men that would spoil all; this Implies my Lords being Antecedently privy to the matter in hand; for he takes the hint immediately. [How to my Lord?] (says he) without needing to Enquire either What Men, or what Business? The Answer was no more in Effect then This. There are a Company of mad Fellows, that will out-run the Constable, they will be shewing themselves too soon, and make some Bedlam Attempt or other, before we are ready for 'em and then we are All ruin'd. So that it was not the Design it self, but (as This Paper Represents it) the rash and imprudent Manage, that was taken Check at; And now follows the Meeting at Mr. Shepheards; which this Paper calls [Company] as if it were a chance Company, nor a Meeting: But Mr. Shephard speaks of it as a Set-Company: And Mr. Rumsey was likewise appointed to meet there. My Lords Contradicting Mr. Rumsey in a Circumstance without any Exception to him upon the main, looks like a tacit Admittance of the rest of his Evidence. The Paper speaks further, of Things that were said by some, with  
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more **Heat than Judgment**:] but neither says *who* spake them, nor *what* the things were; but 'tis Probable they were *Treason*, by my Lord's *Disapproval* of them: And it would have been well, if his Lordship had at least told the *things*, though without naming the *Persons*. It is Remarkable, that the words are [**with much more HEAT than JUDGMENT**] If it had been with much more **Heat** then **Honesty**; my Lords *Disapproval* would have Reflected upon the **Cause**; but with much more **Heat** then **Judgment**, strikes only upon the *Indiscretion*. The Paper thinks it hard, that My Lord should be *Condemn'd* for the things which he *Disapproved*, whereas my Lord was *Condemn'd* for *Meeting, Consulting & Agreeing to Raise an Insurrection, &c.* And it is the *Law* that Pronounces the *Sentence*: My Lords *Part*, it seems, was *Sincere*, and well meant. 'Tis a thousand pitties his Lordship was not better *Enformed*, for People under a *Mistake* may do the *worst things in the world* with *Good Meaning*. And then methinks [**Heats and Ill Designs**] are too soft a way of Expressing such *Horrible Treasons*. The Paper calls it *Dying Innocent of the Crime my Lord was Condemned for*, and but *Misprision of Treason* at the most, in *Concealing* what he was *Privy* to. Here is the *Knowledge of Treason Implied*, in the *Misprision of Treason Confessed*; And there needs not much *Concurrence* with *Traitors*, to make a man *Guilty of Treason*. It is to be wish'd My Lord would have *Declared*, what sort of *Treason* it was that he was made *Acquainted* with; whether the *Imprisoning* or *Deposing* of the *King*: And by what *Means* and *Instruments* to be *Executed*. Once again now, and I have done.

[As for the *Sentence of Death* passed upon me, I cannot but think it a very Hard One, for Nothing was sworn against me (*wheth. r true or false I will not now Examine*)



but some Discourses about making some **Stirs**. And this is not Levying War against the King, which is Treason by the Statute of Edward the Third, and not the Consulting and Discouraging about it, which was all that was Witnessed against me. But by a strange Fetch, the Design of Seizing the Guards, was Construed a Design of Killing the King; and so I was in that Cast.

And now I have Truly and Sincerely told what my part was, in that; which cannot be more than a Bare **Misprison**; And yet I am Condemned as Guilty of a Design of Killing the King.

Here's an Insinuation of an Unjust Sentence, upon False Evidence, though this Paper Confesses as much, on my Lords Part, as was Sworn against him. The Paper calls it [Nothing but some Discourses about making some Stirs] and those Stirs are afterward Expounded, to be [Levying War against the King] And my Lord was Condemned for Consulting about those Stirs. These Consultations, the Court Pronounces to be Treason: My Lord Insists upon it, that they are only a Bare Misprison: And that the Design of Seizing the Guards is wrongfully Interpreted a Design of Killing the King. If this be so strange a Fetch, what was it in the House of Commons to make the Charge against my Lord Chief Justice Scroggs to be Treason?

The Law-Part has been Learnedly, and Copiously clear'd already, in certain Reflexions upon This Paper, called the Antidote against Poyson: The Overt Acts towards the Accomplishing this Treason, were abundantly made out at the Tryal; and Undoubtedly That which was Good Law in the Case of my Lord Stafford holds as Good in the Case of my Lord Russell: And Sir William Jones's Opinion in this Point, will weigh certainly against the Opinion of the Author of this Paper.

[Will any man deny (says Sir William Jones) that the Meeting



**M**eeting and Consulting of several men together about Killing the King; and changing the Government is an Overt Act? Lord Staffords Tryal, p. 190.]

Here is enough said, to set forth the *Inconsistencies* of the **Speech Spoken**, and of the **Paper Delivered** to the *Sheriffs*: And the *Disagreements* of that Paper with it self in several *Peremptory Denials*, and *Point-Blank Confessions* of the same thing. That is to say, according to the *Popular Acceptation* of Words Delivered with *Simplicity* and *Candour*: But then in the *True Protestant Latitude* of **Savings** and **Reservations**; The *Connexion* seems to be perfectly *all of a piece*; And *One Line* serves to *Expound Another*; to the Readers *Infinite Satisfaction*, that there is *Nothing Intended* upon the *Whole*; but *Fallacy* and *Illusion*; bating only here and there a *Stricture*, where it *Cuts* upon the *Government*. In few words; It is a *Reproach* in the form of a *Vindication*: the *Panegyrique* of a *Pedant*, instead of the *Confession* of a *Penitent*. The *Last Prayer* and *Agonies* of a *Dying Christian*, Dissolved into a *Floud* of *Calumnie* and *Bitterness* against the *Church* and *State*; and nothing but the *Name*, to Entitle it to the thing it *Pratends* to be: After so *Severe* and *Needsful* a *Reflection* upon this *Vagabond Paper*, for it fills *All Mouths* and *Places*, I reckon it a *Duty* to Accompany my *Zeal* for the *Publick*, in this *Particular*, with all Possible *Justice* and *Respect* to the *Memory* of the *Dead*. The *Unhappy Circumstances* of his *Deplorable Fate* duly Considered:

That my Lords Charge was **Proved**, and his *Sentence* according to **Law**, his Lordship hath acknowledged under his own Hand (whatsoever this *Ill-natured Paper* may Pretend to the *Contrary*.) In one *Petition* to his Majesty, My Lord does [Solemnly Protest upon the Word of a *Dying Man*, that he never had any *Intention* or *Thought* of

of doing hurt to his Majesties Sacred Person, however by Interpretation of Law 'tis imputed to him, And if his Majesty should be pleased to Execute the Rigour of the Law upon him; he hoped that God would Enable him, &c.] In a second Petition, His Lordship [Humbly and sorrowfully Confesses his having been Present at those Meetings, which he is Convinced are Unlawful, and justly Provoking to his Majesty, But being Betrayed by Ignorance and Inadvertence, he did not Decline them as he ought to have done, &c.] I have the Charity to Believe now, that really according to the Purport of these Petitions. His Lordships Great Misfortune was rather an Error of Principle, then a Factionness of Malice: And it is no wonder, if he were somewhat deeper Dyed then Ordinary, that had (but too frequently) most desperate Seducers at his Elbow. What was that Treasonous and Atheistical Libel of [Julian the Apostate] but the very Scheme of this Conspiracy, and Calculated for the Murder of the King, and the Dissolution of the State: And it was the same Poysonous Position that brought this Unhappy Lord to his Ruine.

As to this Pernicious Paper, I make no question but my Lord Signed it, and that he made it his Own, by so Doing: But it holds so little Congruity with the State and Exigence of his Lordships Case, that I am perswaded (under his Anxious Circumstances) he would have Signed a Blank upon the same Terms, if the same Person had Presented it: For there is not one Syllable in't that Avails him to any purpose Imaginable: It Pretends to Truth and Plainness; and yet scarce six Lines in't without a Riddle. It pretends to Discharge my Lord of the whole Indictment: And yet in several Places, either Intricates, or Confesses it. It pretends to Deliver the whole Truth of the Matter, and yet leaves out the Meetings

ings at his Own and Mr. Hamdens House, where the great Pinch of the Charge lay. Nay the Faction had proceeded so far to the Captivating of this Honourable Persons Judgment, that Mr. Montagues Letter to the Lord Treasurer, bearing date Jan. 18. 1678. St. N. that was Read in the Houle of Commons, takes Notice how much the Court of France depended upon him, for the Crossing (as he calls it) of the Court Measures. [Mr. Ruvigny's Instructions are by the Means of Will. Russel and other Discontented People to give a Great deal of Money, and cross all your Measures at Court.] But to come more particularly now to the miserable Principle that led him to his Destruction.

Upon the Munday after my Lords Condemnation, the Reverend Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Tillotson, gave his Lordship a pious and Friendly Visit: Expressing the Extreme Affliction as well as Compassion that he had for his present Condition: And not without Great Admirati-on at my Lords being Engaged in a Misfortune of that Quality: But after a little Discourse upon that Subject, the Dr. was much more troubled, to find that my Lord was not only Embarqu'd in that Pernicious and wicked Design, but Possess'd with the Principle of his Chaplains [Julian the Apostate] that Resistance was Lawful in the Case of Religion, Liberties and Properties being Invaded: where-upon the Dr. Applied himself by Argument and Counsel to the setting of his Lordship right in that Particular, with all the Freedom, Tenderness and Respect Imaginable: And not without Flattering himself at last, that he had gain'd his point upon my Lords Judgment, who promis'd the Dr. at parting, to bethink himself seriously of what he had said.

The next day Dr. Burnet tells the Dean, that his Discourse had wrought a very good Effect upon my Lord,  
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and that *he was now Resolved to do All that might become a man under his Circumstances, and to Discharge his Conscience both towards God and Man.* Hereupon the *Dean* applyed himself forthwith to a Person of Great Honour, with this Account of his Success, desiring that the matter might be Represented to his Majesty, which was done accordingly, (and the best Office, which in such a Case the *Dr.* could render to his Lordship.)

Upon *Wednesday*, the *Dean* gave my *Lord* another Visit, when taking for granted, that his *Lordship* continued in his Late Resolution, he entertain'd him only with Preparatory Discourses toward the fitting of him for a better Life.

Upon *Friday Morning*, the *Dean* Administred to my *Lord* the *Holy Sacrament*, having previously Receiv'd such Satisfaction from him, as the Occasion and the Duty Requir'd. But afterwards, Mr. *Dean* finding him wavering, went his way: And about five or six in the Evening brought him a *Letter*, which was excellently well Accommodated and very pertinently Applyed to the point in Question. The *Dean* Deliver'd the *Letter* to my *Lord* and Discours'd at large upon it, Earnestly beseeching him to Bethink himself, how much it concern'd him not to leave the World under so dangerous a Mistake, but my *Lord* seem'd much colder now, than before, the *Dean* however pressing him to Enter into a strict and severe Examination of himself, and so he departed, leaving the *Letter* in his *Lordship's* hand.

The next Morning (being the Day of his Execution) the *Dean* waited upon my *Lord* again, when he found him yet cooler, and utterly Declining any Occasion of farther Discourse upon the Old Matter. Upon this, the *Dr.* Desisted, and Attended him afterwards, and Pray'd with him on the Scaffold: Discharging himself, from first

to last in All the Parts of a *Churchman*, and of a *Friend*. A *True Copy* both of the *Letter*, and of the *Prayer* hereafter follows,

July 20. 1683.

My Lord,

**I** Was heartily glad to see your Lordship this Morning in that calm and devout temper at Receiving the Sacrament, but Peace of mind unless it be well-grounded will avail little: And because transient Discourse many times hath little effect for want of time to weigh and consider it, therefore in tender compassion of your Lordships Case, and from all the good Will that one man can bear to another, I do humbly offer to your Lordships deliberate thoughts these following Considerations concerning the Points of Resistance, if our Religion and Rights should be invaded, as your Lordship puts the Case, concerning which I understood by Dr. Burnet, that your Lordship had once received Satisfaction, and am sorry to find a change.

First, That the Christian Religion doth plainly forbid the Resistance of Authority.

Secondly, That though our Religion be Established by Law, (which your Lordship urges as a difference between our Case, and that of the Primitive Christians) yet in the same Law, which Establishes our Religion it is declared, That it is not Lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up Arms, &c. Besides, That there is a particular Law declaring the Power of the Militia to be solely in the King. And this ties the hands of Subjects, though the Law of Nature and the General Rules of Scripture had left us at liberty; which I believe they do not, because the Government and Peace of Humane Society could not well subsist upon these Terms.

Thirdly, Your Lordships Opinion is contrary to the declared Doctrine of all Protestant Churches: and though some particular Persons have taught otherwise, yet they have been

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contradicted



contradicted herein and condemned for it by the Generality of Protestants: And I beg of your Lordship to consider how it will agree with an avowed asserting of the Protestant Religion, to go contrary to the General Doctrine of the Protestants: My End in this is to convince Your Lordship, that You are in a very Great and Dangerous Mistake, and being so convinced, that which before was a Sin of Ignorance, will appear of a much more heinous Nature, as in Truth it is, and call for a very particular and deep Repentance; which if Your Lordship sincerely exercise upon the sight of your Error, by a Penitent Acknowledgment of it to God and Men, You will not only obtain Forgiveness of God, but prevent a mighty Scandal to the Reformed Religion. I am very loath to give Your Lordship any disquiet in the Distress You are in, which I commiserate from my heart, but am much more concerned, that You do not leave the World in a delusion and false Peace, to the hindrance of Your Eternal Happiness. I heartily pray for You, and beseech Your Lordship to believe that I am with the greatest Sincerity and Compassion in the World,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most Faithful and Afflicted Servant,

John Tillotson.

Dr. Tillotson's Prayer upon the Scaffold with  
the Late LORD RUSSEL.

**O** Almighty and Merciful God, with whom alone, live the Spirits of just Men made perfect, after they are delivered from these earthly Prisons, we humbly commend the Soul of this our dear Brother into thy hands, as into the hands of a Faithful Creator, and most merciful Saviour; humbly beseeching thee that it may be precious in thy sight, wash it, O Lord, from all it's guilt



in the blood of the immaculate Lamb that was slain to take away the Sins of the World; That whatsoever Defilements it may have Contracted in the midst of this wicked World, by the lusts of the flesh, or the wiles of Satan, being purged and done away, by a sincere and unfeigned Repentance, through thy Infinite Mercy and Goodness in our Lord Jesus Christ, it may be presented pure and holy, and without spot, before thee; O Lord we humbly beseech thee to support thy Servant and stand by him in this last and great Contest, deliver him from the pains of Eternal Death, and save him, O Lord, for thy Mercies sake, and grant that all we who survive, by this, and other Instances of thy Providence, may learn our Duty to God and the King, and that by this and other like Spectacles of our Mortality, we may see how frail and uncertain our Condition is in this World, that it is all but vanity, and teach us so to number our days, that we may seriously apply our hearts to that holy and heavenly Wisdom while we live, which may bring us to Life Everlasting through Jesus Christ our Lord, in whose holy Name and Words we conclude our Prayers.

Our Father, &c.

Having done this Right to the *Truth* by an *Impartial Report* of the Matter of *Fact*; And this *Further Right* to the Reverend *Dean*, to *Publish* the *Right* that he hath done to *Himself* in *this Affair*, I shall Super-add *this Note*, that he had nothing to do in the *Paper* that has made all this *Noise*; but to *Condemn* so much as he *Heard* of it. And in *Truth* it was *Observed*, that while my *Lord* and the *Dean* were together, they had *Neither Pen, Ink, nor Paper*. Now though 'tis *True* again, that when my *Lord*, and *Doctor Burnet* were together, there was *Pen, Ink, and Paper call'd for*; It *Concludes* nothing yet as to the *Writing of this Paper*. It is said indeed, that upon *Captain Richardsons* speaking to *Dr. Burnet* about my *Lords* making a *Speech*; he was answered by the *Doctor*, that *My Lord only intended to speak a few words upon the Scaffold*; And that what he had to say else, *He would leave in a Paper he intended to deliver to the Sheriffs*.

There is more then enough said in *Reflection* upon this *Scandalous Paper*; that takes so much pains to possess the *World* that this *Unhappy Execution* was a *Murder*. There *was*, Effectually, a *Murder* in the *Case*. It was in the *Law* an *Act of Justice*: But it was in *Him* that *Poyson'd this Unfortunate Gentleman* with that *Seditious Maxim* that brought him to the *Block*, and that afterwards *Encouraged* him to persist in't: It was in *Him*, I say, the *Basest*, and the most *Treacherous* of *Murders*: And I look upon *Julian*, with a *Respect* to *this Conspiracy* only as the *Rule* to the *Example*, the *One Directs the Rebellion*; and the *Other Proves it*.

*The End.*

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